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ABSTRACT

This monograph discusses a study of the quality of school life of students in comprehensive high schools in Quebec. Two methods were used to compile data: a survey of 30 secondary schools involving 2,000 students from 15 large and 15 small settings, and an ethnographic study of one large and one small school. Student attitudes toward school both as individuals and as a group were considered. The survey measured student attitudes toward teachers, their commitment to school work, and their satisfaction with school. Findings of the enthnographic study indicated two major similarities between large and small schools. First, regardless of school size, teachers tend to direct classes while students act as passive learners. Second, student participation in school activities both in and out of class is extremely limited. The study concludes that both survey and ethnographic methods can be used successfully together to gain insight into complex social phenomena. (Author/LD)

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REPORTS IN EDUCATION
Number 7

THE QUALITY OF SCHOOL LIFE

A Research Monograph

by

Geoffrey B. Isherwood
Janice A. Ahola
Clement K. Hammah
Patricia Sullivan

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Professor Geoffrey B. Isherwood is a member and past chairman of the Department of Educational Administration at McGill University. Janice A. Ahola, Clement K. Hammah and Patricia Sullivan participated on this research in the course of completeing their MA theses in Educational Administration. Miss Ahola is currently enrolled for the PhD.

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INTRODUCTION

Geoffrey B. Isherwood

In 1975, leading administrators from a large Montreal area school board were concerned about the recent trend in secondary school reorganization in Quebec. The administrators' concern was whether the increased development of "comprehensive high schools" (CHS) was having a concomitant negative effect upon students' attitudes toward school.[1] Many educators and parents had verbalized discontent with the "education factories", "inflexible school scheduling", "watered-down curriculum" and so forth. Also, some groups had voiced concern about the "alienating" effects the CHS had on youth. While proponents of the CHS movement spoke of its many pluses (largely a more diverse curriculum and a more specialized staff), they tended to slide over the potential weaknesses of the new school organization.

Now these same leading administrators had read Barker and Gump's Big School, Little School study.[2] They were impressed with the findings that students in small schools held more positions of importance and participated in more different activities than their cohorts in larger schools. Could it be that school size had a profound effect upon school life? If that was the case, the CHS, typically housing 2000 or more students, might, in fact, be forcing reduced student participation in school activities and indeed be an alienating influence upon students.

Of course, this argument was seen as too simple. In a small school, if the senior class is going to put on a class

[1] In Quebec, the Ministry of Education commited large sums of money to the development of CHS as it sought to up-grade the French speaking community during the late 1960's. The English speaking community benefited from the same program.

[2] Barker, Roger and Gump, Paul. Big School, Little School. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964.

play, many students may be forced to participate just to mount the production. In contrast, in a large school, many students may read for one part in a play with only one getting the role. In small schools, a "norm of inclusion" may be required while in large ones a "norm of exclusion" may be necessary to support the school activity program. However, in large schools with more specialized staffs a wider range of student activities may be present, thereby having wider student participation. For these leading administrators, there were arguments on both sides of the coin, and yet little conclusive evidence about the relationship between the CHS movement and student attitude toward school.

With these thoughts in mind, the administrator group met with three university-based researchers in an attempt to decide on how the issue might be studied. Meetings were spread over a four month period of time. The administrators sought funding from the Ministry of Education and received a $12,000. one-year grant. This is mentioned to indicate the initial level of support as it influenced the final research design.

After a brief review of the literature devoted to student attitudes toward school, comprehensive high schools, and school size, the research team proposed two approaches to the study of student attitudes to school. Either a sample survey of Quebec secondary school students, stratified by school size, should be conducted, or an ethnographic investigation of two large CHS and two small less-comprehensive high schools was in order. The research team had developed specific research questions for the survey but had only a general frame of reference for the ethnographic study.

The administrators heard the proposals but wanted to do both studies within the allocated funds. We argued against this in terms of design integrity. We settled on a

sample survey of about 30 secondary schools to include about 2000 students drawn from 15 large and 15 small settings, and an ethnographic study of two schools, one large and the other small. In retrospect, we think the survey did not suffer from a thirty per cent sample of the largest and smallest high schools in Quebec (no mid-sized schools were sampled), but it might have been more powerful to have had two ethnographers. That is, a single ethnographer has limited access to settings where only students of the opposite sex are present.

With regard to the survey, we had an initial definition of student attitude toward school (the QSL measure) and a conceptual model that purported to account for a student's attitude to school. We began with defined concepts, their measures and a set of research questions - we used an ex post facto survey design. The conceptual model will be developed later. We also thought the analysis should proceed at two levels. We wanted to study the student's attitude toward school as both an individual and collective phenomenon. While data was to be collected from individuals, we thought of attitudes more as group than individual phenomena; we had a latent hypothesis that the group (aggregated data) findings would be more robust than the individual findings.

With regard to the ethnographic study, we had no predetermined research questions - except the general one dealing with a study of students' views of school. We avoided, perhaps too much, efforts to define findings early on in the investigation A young woman, ready to begin graduate research, was recruited to be the field worker and live with students in two schools. She spent the prior summer studying with a noted ethnographer, and then moved to the data collection phase of her work. We would be hard pressed to define how she was selected for this

participant observer role, but some unique personal qualities were required. She had to mesh with students while playing an overt role as a researcher. She had to spend long hours after observations recording the day's events. This consumed the better part of one school year. She concluded the observations with over 1000 pages of detailed notes to be used for later analysis.

Note that the survey and ethnographic designs work from different assumptions. In a survey, one begins with a model, research questions and/or hypotheses and seeks answers; in an ethnographic study, one has few research questions to begin with and seeks to develop questions and perhaps a model. Some have argued that ethnographic designs should precede surveys because they have different purposes. This may be true. We have found, however, that the two approaches can complement each other. Each approach can add light to the same setting, and each approach permits criticism of the other in terms of findings. This will be brought out later. Out of the overall study that received funding for a second year for an additional $7,000., a number of reports have already been written including:

Geoffrey B. Isherwood, Barry G. Lucas, Patricia Sullivan and Clement Hammah, "The Quality of School Life in Large and Small Quebec Secondary Schools: A Survey," report to the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal, Montreal, August, 1977.

Janice A. Ahola and Barry G. Lucas, "The Dynamics of Role Adjustment of the Participant Observer in the High School Setting," paper presented to the Canadian Educational Research Association, Fredericton, June, 1977.

Geoffrey B. Isherwood and Clement Hammah, "The Quality of School Life: A Student Perspective," paper presented at the First Congress of Education of the Canadian School Trustees' Association, Toronto, June, 1978.

Janica A. Ahola, "School Size and Student Life, An Ethnographic Study," paper presented at the Canadian Association for the Study of Educational Administration Conference, London, Ontario, June, 1978.

Patricia Sullivan, "The Quality of School Life and Alien-Ation from School as Perceived by Secondary School Students," unpublished MA thesis, McGill University, Montreal, 1978.

Janice A. Ahola, "An Ethnographic Study of Student Life in A Small and A Large High School," unpublished MA thesis, McGill University, Montreal, 1978.

Clement Kweku Hammah, "Home Setting and School Setting Factors Associated with the Quality of School Life: A Student Perspective," unpublished MA thesis, McGill University, Montreal, 1978.

The purpose of the present monograph is to study the "quality of school life" of students from two perspectives, one survey and one ethnographic. We seek to uncover the meaning of "the quality of school life" and to look at its utility as a tool for comparing secondary schools.

In the following pages, we will describe the findings from the survey study, then turn to data from the ethnographic investigation. We will be making selections from the mass of data already accumulated, selections that we think appropriately convey the major findings. In a final discussion section, we will return to the major purpose of the study and propose a model that may account for both the survey findings and the ethnographic findings.

THE SURVEY

Geoffrey B. Isherwood
Patricia Sullivan

Our criterion concept was "student attitude toward school." From the start, we were not concerned about student achievement or the relationship between student achievement and student attitude toward school. We defined an attitude as an individually held, culturally derived orientation to an object that might possess either a cathectic or a moral aspect. The attitude defined for the individual whether the object was liked or disliked (cathectic aspect), or whether it was right or wrong (moral aspect).[3] In our case, the object was the school or one of its facets.

Strauss, a priori, defined a set of school facets to which, he thought, students might develop attitudes. He focused on:[4]

1. Social Rules
2. Political Rules
3. Teaching Quality
4. Teacher Interest
5. Curriculum
6. Cafeteria Services
7. Counseling Services
8. Course Assignments
9. Discipline
10. Grades

While these facets may represent salient aspects of school life for students, it is not clear why they were selected and why others were omitted. For example, no mention was made of extra curricular activities, and they seemed to compose an important aspect of schooling for many youngsters. Also, Strauss had not considered the "dimensional" issue regarding student attitudes. Information was not provided as to whether these concepts remained separate in the minds of students or whether they tended to cluster together in some fashion. Strauss defined ten concepts and he continued to treat them separately when he had data in hand to test their underlying factor structure.

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[3]Bredemeir, Harry C. and Stephenson, Richard M. The Analysis of Social Systems. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962, 11ff.

[4]Strauss, George H., "School as a Power Structure," Education and Urban Society, 7 (Nov., 1974), 3.

A second approach to defining student attitudes toward school was followed by Epstein and McPartland. They employed an inductive, empirical tack. Many questions relating to student attitude toward school were written and then administered to Maryland students during a survey. After a factor analysis of the items, twenty-seven emerged as loading on three factors. The three factors were statistically independent and they seemed to represent three independent sub-concepts within the larger framework of attitude toward school. Appendix A contains the set of twenty-seven items. The three sub-concepts were labeled:[5]

1. Attitudes toward teachers (TCH)
2. Commitment to school work (WORK)
3. Satisfaction with school (SAT)

Concept 1, TCH, had as an object the teacher, and seemed to embrace the student's perception of student-teacher relations. This factor contained eleven items including:

> I wish I could have the same teachers next year (note the cathectic aspect of the item)
>
> The teachers in this school often act as though they are always right and you are wrong (note the moral aspect; scored negatively)

Concept 2, WORK, had as an object classwork. A student was asked to characterize his/her reaction to whether the work was stimulating or boring and important or not, via eleven items including:

> School work is dull and boring to me (cathectic aspect; scored negatively)
>
> If you could choose to take any courses at all, how many of your present courses would you take? (cathectic aspect)

Concept 3, SAT, had as an object a rather global notion of school. Students seemed to be reporting, in a cathectic way, their happiness in school and whether they identified with the

[5]Epstein, Joyce L. and McPartland, James M., "The Concept and Measurement of the Quality of School Life," American Educational Research Journal, 13 (Winter, 1976), 15-30.

school or not. Two of the five items were:

I am happy when I am in school

The school and I are like: Good friends ... Enemies

According to Epstein and McPartland, TCH, WORK and SAT seemed to form three independent dimensions of a larger concept which they termed "The Quality of School Life" (QSL).

In our view, the Epstein and McPartland approach to a student's attitude toward school was better than that of Strauss. We preferred the inductive, empirical conceptualization of QSL to the a priori one because it seemed wedded more closely to the student's view of the world. We also preferred the conceptualization of QSL derived from a factor analysis because it seemed more likely to tap the underlying structure of the concept.

In addition to the construct validity of the QSL provided by the factor analysis, Epstein and McPartland conducted a number of other validation tests. For example, higher QSL scores were obtained by students recognized by their teachers as having a higher interest in school than for students with a lower interest in school. Also, there was a positive correlation between QSL and school performance and participation measures. In short, the weight of evidence indicated a valid measure was in hand, for Epstein and McPartland. The Kudar-Richardson Formula 20 was used to test for reliability of each of the subscales and for the total of the twenty-seven items. The minimum KR 20 coefficient was .72; the scales were deemed reasonably reliable.

At this point in time, in our review of the literature and development of the survey, we thought two major questions remained: (1) what other dimensions of a student's attitude toward school exist, and (2) would the Epstein and McPartland factors remain stable with other samples? We decided the former question was beyond the scope of our survey resources, but we thought the latter question should be investigated.

Let us now define the survey sample and then report the findings of a "retest" of the factor structure of the QSL.

Sample. Our concern was to isolate CHS from those that were not so comprehensive. This was done by assuming that large secondary schools were more comprehensive than smaller ones - a reasonable assumption based upon our knowledge of the Quebec situation. The Minister of Education, in Répetoire des Organisms et des Ecoles, 1975, provided a list by enrollment of the ninety-three English language schools in Quebec. Twenty of the schools had populations over 1500 and another twenty had populations under 1000, with the remainder of the schools falling in between. Seven of the 40 largest and smallest schools did not enter the sample because they chose not to participate or they were inaccessible. The sample of schools was stratified by size, but not random. The 18 small schools selected ranged in size from 319 to 950 students, with a mean size of about 650, while the 15 large schools ranged in size from 1500 to 3900 students, with a mean size of about 2000. In Quebec, all public schools have a religious basis; there were 18 Catholic and 15 Protestant schools. Of the 33 schools, 16 were urban (they were located in the Montreal area), 12 were suburban (they were located in bedroom communities surrounding Montreal), and 5 were rural (they were located in sparsely populated areas).

However, we sought a random sample of students from these schools. A researcher visited each school and administered our questionnaire to intact classes. The classes were ones open to most students within the selected school grade. We sought about equal numbers of male and female respondents from grades 8 and 10. Quebec secondary schools include grades 7 to 11 and, given our resources, we sought about 2000 respondents. Table 1 indicates the student sample by number and per cent.

TABLE 1

STUDENT SAMPLE

	Sex		
	Male n(%)	Female n(%)	Total n(%)
Grade 8	549(26)	477(22)	1026(48)
Grade 10	587(27)	527(25)	1114(52)
Total	1136(53)	1004(47)	2140(100)

Each of the four cells in the 2X2 cross-tabulation was reasonably close to the anticipated 25 per cent figure, and the marginal figures were close to the anticipated 50 per cent. It should be noted that the number of respondents per school ranged from a low of 34 to a high of 109. In summary, the sample seemed to provide a good basis for testing questions related to the validity and reliability of the QSL measure, and to later test questions about correlates of the QSL.

Validity of the QSL. Data was collected from sample students during the winter of 1976-77 on the twenty-seven items of the QSL. It was scored, keypunched, verified and then tested using SPSS programs.

In their reported analysis, Epstein and McPartland had used a four factor solution in factor analysing their data; we chose to follow the same procedure. We asked the program to report factors with eigenvalues greater than 0.5, and we had decided a priori to consider only factors that emerged from the analysis with eigenvalues greater than one. Table 2 contains the analysis. The first factor had an eigenvalue of 6.09 while the second factor had one of only 0.76. The

TABLE 2

UNROTATED FACTOR ANALYSIS
OF 27 QSL ITEMS

Item	Factor I	Factor II
1	.42*	-.05
2	.38*	.07
3	.49*	-.05
4	.35	.27
5	.48*	.03
6	.41	.39
7	.56*	-.13
8	.47	.28
9	.37*	.00
10	.21	.14
11	.61*	-.17
12	.41*	.09
13	.41*	.10
14	.24	.28
15	.47*	-.11
16	.38*	.06
17	.42	-.24
18	.62*	.12
19	.59*	-.02
20	.44	-.21
21	.50	.22
22	.63*	-.14
23	.57*	.01
24	.67*	.20
25	.48*	.01
26	.27	.04
27	.64*	-.18
Eigenvalue	6.09	0.76

n is 2140
* is item assigned to factor

remaining two factors were not listed; they had eigenvalues of less than 0.5.

To define which items loaded on which factor we developed a rule-of-thumb. An item-factor loading (correlation) had to be greater than .35 on one factor and less than .15 on all other factors for inclusion in a factor. We violated this rule for items 11, 24, and 27 because of their high loadings on factor I and their marginal loadings on factor II. Eighteen items loaded on factor I while factor II did not have any. The 18 items included 4 of 11 of the TCH items, 9 of 11 of the WORK items, and 5 of 5 of the SAT items.

We concluded that the 18 items loading on factor I represented a unidimensional conception of the quality of school life; hence, we labeled this factor and concept the QSLR (Quality of School Life - Revised). Later analysis of our other data would use the QSLR, as we had no justification for using the multidimensional framework of Epstein and McPartland. The QSLR would probably be a close equivalent of the total QSL (SAT + WORK + TCH). Researchers using the Epstein and McPartland items, based on our findings, should retest the underlying factor structure of the QSL before defining their measure.

The adjusted split-half reliability coefficient for the eighteen items was 0.87; the QSLR seemed to be a highly consistent measure.

The QSLR and Alienation From School. In recent decades, social scientists have studied the concept of alienation in general life, work settings and school settings. These studies have indicated the saliency of the concept in aiding our understanding of human functioning in diverse settings. Alienation, while held by an individual, seemed to be a group phenomenon. Durkheim's classic studies of suicide and anomie support this contention. In correspondence, Epstein suggested the strong

probability of an inverse relationship between the QSL and student alienation from school. To further validate the QSLR, we decided to do a correlation study between sample student QSLR scores and their response to a previously developed measure of alienation.

Seeman defined five variants of alienation, powerlessness (P), normlessness (N), meaninglessness (M), self-estrangement (SE), and isolation (I).[6] Powerlessness referred to the degree of control an individual sensed that he possessed over his environment. Strauss found that "in almost all areas of school decision-making the majority of students view themselves as rather powerless."[7] Further, Maghami noted "an individual's feelings of powerlessness and personal control over events is a potent factor in determining the level of interest and degree of knowledge and desire for participation that an individual brings to his life situation."[8] Therefore, we hypothesized that an inverse relationship would exist between the QSLR and P.

Normlessness was related to Durkheim's notion of anomie. There was a tendancy to stress ends over means. Getting ahead was important irrespesctive of the means employed. In the school, a student might think it acceptable to cheat on an exam if a good grade was the outcome. In short, there was a breakdown in socially approved means to accomplish desired ends when normlessness was present. Hartley and Hoy, in a study of alienation and school climate, found that "closed climate schools with a more 'practical' orientation encouraged inauthenticity and normlessness in students."[9] In this study, we hypothesized an

[6]Seeman, Melvin, "On The Meaning of Alienation," American Sociological Review, 24 (Dec., 1959), 784-790.

[7]Strauss, Op. Cit., 11.

[8]Maghami, Ghaem, "Powerlessness and Knowledge: A Replication and Elaboration," High School Journal, 55 (May, 1972), 352.

[9]Hartley Marvin Clifford and Hoy, Wayne K., "Openness of School Climate and Alienation of High School Students," Journal of Educational Research, 23 (Jan., 1972), 23.

inverse relationship between QSLR and N.

Meaninglessness referred to an individual's sense of where his or her life was leading. One may experience meaninglessness when the future is unclear; in the school setting, this may grow from a student's inability to connect daily events to a desired future. If one was apathetic about the future, life would seem to be meaningless. Hoy found that "meaninglessness did not seem to be school-related in the same way as the other variants of alienation. School characteristics which foster other types of alienation may mollify meaninglessness."[10] Following the pattern of the two previous hypotheses, we predicted an inverse relationship between QSLR and M. We did not pursue the relationships between QSLR and SE or I because of instrumentation problems.

Kolesar developed a sixty item instrument for use in the school setting (the Pupil Attitude Questionnaire) to measure the five variants of alienation defined by Seeman.[11] While the measure had been used in Canadian schools before and by Hoy in a series of alienation studies in New Jersey schools, we thought it wise to refactor our data on the sixty items before testing the hypotheses.[12] Hoy had not factored the Kolesar measure in his prior work. Following procedures similar to those described for the instrumentation work on the QSL, we found four alienation factors that contained forty-one of the original sixty items, and that accounted for ninety-five per cent of the cumulative variance.[13] Factor I was clearly Seeman's normlessness notion; it had an eigenvalue of 7.97 and contained 13 of the 14 original normlessness items. Factor II was labelled powerlessness; it had an eigenvalue of

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[10] Hoy, Wayne K., An Investigation of the Relation Between Characteristics of Secondary Schools and Student Alienation. U.S. Dept. of HEW, January, 1971.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Sullivan. Op. Cit., 38-42.

[13] Ibid., 42.

2.43 and contained 6 powerlessness items. Factor III was uninterpretable. While it had an eigenvalue of 1.79, only three items loaded on the factor, one each of P I and SE. We could not use the factor. Factor IV, with an eigenvalue of 1.65, contained 8 meaninglessness items and it was so labelled. Coefficient alpha was calculated for N, P, and M and was found to be 0.86, 0.66 and 0.64, respectively. Normlessness had a high level of reliability, while powerlessness and meaninglessness had only modest levels.[14]

We concluded that there were acceptable measures for three of Seeman's variants of alienation, N, P and M, and then proceded to test the hypothesized relationships with QSLR. The Pearson product-moment correlation was used, see Table 3.

TABLE 3

PEARSON PRODUCT-MOMENT CORRELATIONS AMONG QSLR, N, P AND M

	QSLR	N	P	M
QSLR	1.00	-.37*	-.59*	-.16
N		1.00	.13	-.39*
P			1.00	.22

n is 33; $r \geq .30$; $p \leq .05$

We decided to use the school as the unit of analysis because both Kolesar and Hoy studied alienation at that level and because we were ultimately interested in research questions at that level.

As predicted in the hypotheses, QSLR was inversely and significantly related to N ($r = -.37$) and P ($r = -.59$); while in

[14] Ibid.

the predicted direction, QSLR was not significantly related to M ($r = -.16$). Of passing interest was the inverse and significant relationship between N and M ($r = -.39$). Students who were goal oriented, regardless of the means they used to achieve their goals, seemed to lack a sense of meaninglessness.

These findings indicated that the strongest relationship was between QSLR and P. In schools where students perceived themselves as lacking in power and control over their lives, they were less committed to school work, to their teachers and to school in general than when they had a sense of power. This finding was consistent with that of Maghami.[15]

In schools where students reported higher levels of QSLR, they reported lower levels of normlessness. That is, where students were satisfied with school, committed to teachers and concentrated on classwork, they seemed less likely to use socially deviant means to accomplish their school goals.

Consistent with the earlier findings of Hoy, meaninglessness was not significantly related to QSLR.[16] However, meaninglessness was inversely related to normlessness. Meaninglessness for students may be a function of non-school factors.

When multiple regression analysis was used to predict QSLR given N, P, and M, the cumulative multiple squared correlation was 0.45. That is, only 45 per cent of the variance in QSLR could be accounted for by the three variables of alienation. Within the 45 per cent, P accounted for 35 per cent. It appeared that the QSLR, while significantly related to N and P, was an independent construct; it shared only a portion of the common variance with three types of student alienation from school.

We concluded that the QSLR was a valid and reliable measure based upon the work of Epstein and McParland on the QSL and our work with the QSLR. The QSLR represented a "global"

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[15] Maghami, Op. Cit.

[16] Hoy, Op. Cit.

commitment on the part of a secondary school student to his or her school, his or her teachers, and his or her school work. The QSLR items are indicated in Appendix A.

QSLR and Additional Findings. At this point we decided to look at the relationship between the QSLR and student grade level, and between QSLR and the sex of the student. Studies by Husein, Sexton and Tennenbaum had found that satisfacton with school tended to decline with school level, and that girls tended to enjoy school more and were motivated to do school work more than boys.[17] Using the student as the unit of analysis, one-way analysis of variance was computed to test two hypotheses, namely:

H1: Grade 8 students will have a higher QSLR than will grade 10 students.

H2: Girls will have a higher QSLR than will boys.

Hypothesis 1 received tentative support (see Table 4). With an $F = 3.22$, the $p = .07$ was approaching the .05 level of significance. That is, there was a tendancy among sample students for grade 8 students to report higher QSLR scores than there was for grade 10 students.

Hypothesis 2 was supported (see Table 5; $F = 29.32$, $p = .01$). Girls reported higher QSLR scores than boys. Generally, these findings seemed consistent with the prior literature.

Finally, the relationship between QSLR and school size was tested. Again, one-way analysis of variance was computed, and the school was the unit of analysis. The mean QSLR scores for the 18 small schools was compared with the mean scores of the 15 large schools. Because of Barker and Gump's work we predicted that:

H3: Small schools would have higher QSLR scores than large schools.

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[17] Husein, T., "Sex Differences in Science Achievement and Attitude," Comparative Education Review, 18 (June, 1974), 304; Sexton, Patricia, The American School: A Sociological Analysis. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1967, 94; Tennenbaum, S., "Uncontrolled Experiences of Children's Attitudes Toward School," Elementary School Journal, 40 (Sept., 1940), 670-678.

TABLE 4

ONE-WAY ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE
FOR QSLR BY GRADE

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F	p
Between	1	77.76	77.76	3.22	.07
Within	2114	50980.17	24.12		
Total	2115	51057.93			

Grade	Mean	SD	n
8	8.91	4.91	1015
10	8.53	4.91	1101

n is 2116

TABLE 5

ONE-WAY ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE
FOR QSLR BY SEX

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F	p
Between	1	652.02	652.02	29.32	.00
Within	2111	46941.32	22.24		
Total	2112	47593.34			

Sex	Mean	SD	n
Girls	9.62	4.65	990
Boys	8.14	4.78	1123

n is 2113

This hypothesis was supported at the .05 level ($F = 5.36$, $n=33$). Students in smaller secondary schools seemed to have a higher commitment to classwork, to their teachers and to the school in general than did students in larger secondary schools.

THE SOURCE OF A STUDENT'S ATTITUDE
TOWARD SCHOOL

Clement K. Hammah

At this point, we were confident that one measure of a student's attitude toward school had been developed, given a sample of Quebec secondary school students. We were now interested in accounting for this attitude - again, given the limitations of the survey research design.

It seemed that the home and the school were the two primary settings that provided for the socialization, the transformation of a child into a person capable of participating in social life. However, the relative importance of these two settings had not been clearly defined, particularly not in English-speaking Quebec. Some studies pointed to the saliency of the family, particularly its socio-economic status, in determining a student's attitude toward school, while other studies suggested that school factors might be equally important.

Therefore, we decided to investigate specific facets of the home setting and the school setting that might act as determinants of a student's attitude toward school, more specifically to his or her QSLR. We also decided to do a two-level analysis of our data. We would look at both individual responses and collective (school level) responses. While an "attitude" was held by an individual, it was probably group determined. Again, as Durkheim was able to better understand suicide and anomie as group phenomena, we thought one's attitude toward school might better be interpreted in a like manner.

A review of the literature led us to a small set of home and school setting factors that might account for a student's attitude to school. These factors seemed to fall into two classes, "structural" and "interpersonal". Structural

factors were relatively fixed over time, they did not change except on a year-to-year or longer term basis. Interpersonal factors were defined as the personal interactions the respondent had with others at home or school. We thought that attitudes learned at home early in life and later modified by the school environment would form an admixture, providing a student with a specific attitude to school in the present time. Figure 1 contains an illustration of our "social system" model.

SOCIAL SYSTEM MODEL TO POSSIBLY ACCOUNT FOR A STUDENT'S ATTITUDE TO SCHOOL

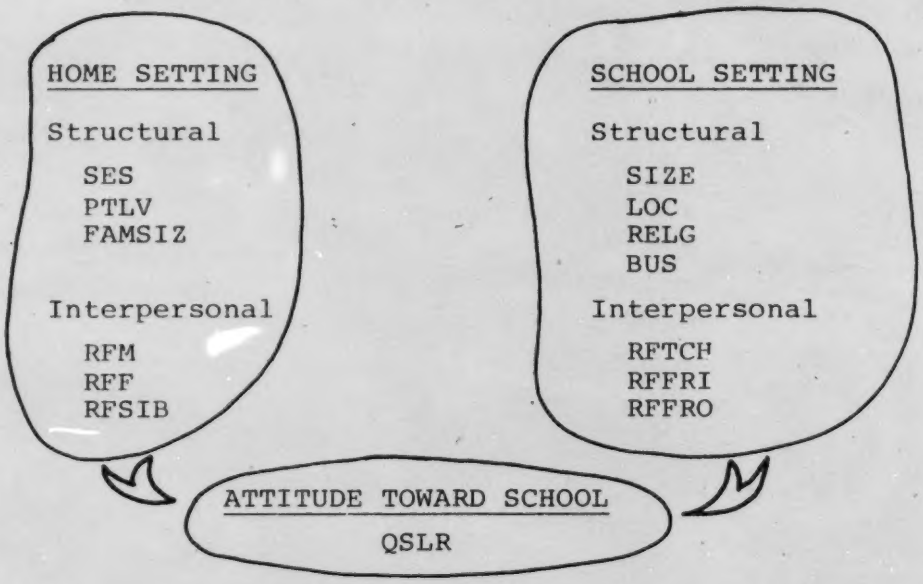

Figure 1

Within the home setting, three structural factors stood out. The socio-economic status (SES) of the family was deemed important in a number of prior studies; it was measured herein according to a classification system used by Pineo and Porter.[18]

[18] Pineo, P.C. and Porter, J., "Occupational Prestige in Canada," The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 4 (Feb., 1967), 36-40; they used the head of the household's occupation as the indicant of SES.

We were also concerned about the number of parents living at home (PTLV). Modern society has many one-parent families and we thought the variation in family structure might impinge upon a student's attitude to school. At the same time, the size of the family might influence the interaction among family members (FAMSIZ). School location, be it urban, suburban or rural, seemed another likely structural factor with the potential to influence student attitude (LOC). Also, in Quebec, public schools were denominational, so that the religion of the school (RELG), be it Protestant or Catholic, might bear upon a student's attitude. Finally, we were concerned with how long students spent traveling to school each day. We asked them whether they walked to school (typically 15 minutes or less travel time), or whether they rode a bus, and if so, how long the bus ride took (BUS).

In addition to the structural factors, we were concerned with the interpersonal relations which adolescents had with members of their family, their friends, and their teachers. Using a procedure developed by Riley, we asked students who they were likely to seek advice from with regard to ten topics.[19] Some topics were:

1. What to wear when going out
2. Whom to invite home
3. Problems of what is morally right and wrong
4. Movies, radio programs, TV, music, books
5. Kissing, necking, sex, marriage

Respondents could check any or all advisors: mother (RFM), father (RFF), siblings (RFSIB), teachers (RFTCH), friends in their classes (RFFRI), or friends not in their classes (RFFRO). We tallied the number of times each referent (RF) was ticked on the ten questions. The questions covered a range of topics,

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[19] Riley, Mathilda White. Sociological Research, Volume 2. New York: Harper, Brace, 1963.

some likely to be sensitive for adolescents, others likely to be less so. The individuals that respondents cited more often were considered to be "significant others" or prime "referents" for them.

Finally, the dependent concept, the QSLR, completed the model. We decided to use correlation coefficients initially (Pearson) to test relationships in the model. Where complex patterns appeared, we decided to use stepwise multiple regression (MR) analysis to predict the QSLR. The major research question underlying the analysis was:

RQ: Do home setting or school setting factors have more influence on a student's attitude toward school?

Findings: The Individual as the Unit of Analysis. When using the individual as the case, the sample size was 2116. Only two correlations between QSLR and the thirteen home and school setting variables were near or above $r = .20$. RFM correlated with QSLR at $r = .25$, while RFSIB and QSLR correlated at $r = .19$; RFM and RFSIB taken together (in that order) to predict QSLR yielded a $MR = .28$ and a multiple correlation squared $MR^2 = .08$. All other correlations were less than $r = .10$. With the individual as the unit of analysis, we learned very little about the source of QSLR (only eight per cent for the two leading correlates). The home setting interpersonal variables, RFM and RFSIB, provided only marginal insight into a student's attitude toward school.

Findings: The School as the Unit of Analysis. We then moved from a sample of 2116 students to a sample of 33 schools. The variables in the model now assumed new meanings. SES now refered to the average SES within a community, while RFM refered to how sample students in one school refer to their mothers collectively. We were now looking at group phenomena. Retesting the same research question with this aggregated data yielded some rich findings.

Figure 2 contains a summary of this second analysis. Simple correlations (r) are reported along with selected multiple stepwise correlations (MR). In terms of home setting variables, the simple correlations with QSLR were: SES $r = -.38$, FAMSIZ $r = .22$, RFSIB $r = .57$, and RFF $r = -.07$. The MR analysis for the structural variables SES and FAMSIZ was $MR = .46$, $MR^2 = .21$. The MR analysis for the interpersonal variables RFSIB and RFF was $MR = .62$ and $MR^2 = .38$.

It appeared as if siblings played a fairly strong role in determining respondents' QSLR; that is, when brothers and sisters were referred to often for advice on a number of topics, then respondents had a more positive commitment to school, to teachers and to schoolwork than when siblings were not used as referents. Of unique interest was the relationship between QSLR and SES; it was inverse and statistically significant. Contrary to much of the literature, students from lower status communities seemed to have a more positive QSLR than did students from higher status communities. This may reflect a feature of English-language schools in Quebec. Up until recently, these schools have attracted a large portion of the immigrant population in the Province, particularly in the urban areas. It may be that communities that have overall lower status on an SES basis may have families that see education as a means to upward mobility, and, therefore, encourage their children to do particularly well in school. This is speculation, however, and it needs to be tested. Because schools in Quebec receive the vast majority of their fiscal support on an equal basis from the Provincial government (the per-pupil expenditure is nearly equal in all schools), the QSLR-SES finding is <u>not</u> confounded by school fiscal support.

In terms of school setting variables, the simple correlations between QSLR and LOC, BUS and SIZE were, respectively, $r = -.29$, $r = .17$, and $r = -.24$, with a $MR = .45$ and $MR^2 = .20$.

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN MODEL VARIABLES AND THE QSLR

(n = 33)

HOME SETTING

Structural

SES	-.38	MR=.46
PTLV	#	MR^2=.21
FAMSIZ	.22	

Interpersonal

RFM	#	MR=.62
RFF	-.07	MR^2=.38
RFSIB	.57	

RFSIB, FAMSIZ, RFF } MR=.73, MR^2=.53

SCHOOL SETTING

Structural

SIZE	-.24	MR=.45
LOC	-.29	MR^2=.20
RELG	#	
BUS	.17	

Interpersonal

RFTCH	.52	MR=.66
RFFRI	-.17	MR^2=.44
RFFRO	#	

RFTCH, RFFRI, BUS, SIZE, LOC } MR=.74, MR^2=.55

ATTITUDE TOWARD SCHOOL

QSLR

Figure 2

# indicates a near zero correlation between the variable and QSLR

For interpersonal variables, the correlations with RFTCH and RFFRI were $\underline{r} = .52$ and $\underline{r} = -.17$, respectively. with a MR = .66 and a $MR^2 = .44$. Again, the dominance of interpersonal variables over structural variables was indicated ($MR^2 = .44$ versus $MR^2 = .20$). It seemed that teachers played an important role in the students' perceptions of QSLR; the more the teachers were referred to, the higher the QSLR. In contrast, a higher QSLR was reported when students did not have as many referents in their classes as when they did. There may be competing demands placed on high school students between commitment to teachers and schoolwork and commitment to friends in o[illegible]s classes. Also, students in urban schools reported high[illegible] QSLR scores than students in other schools, and smaller high schools tended to have higher QSLR scores than larger ones.

Finally, when all the home setting variables were entered into a MR analysis to predict QSLR, three entered the prediction equation before the "R^2 change" became less than two per cent. See Table 6 for this analysis. The three variables were RFSIB, FAMSIZ and RFF with a MR = .73 and $MR^2 = .53$. Home setting variables considered as a set could account for over half the variance in QSLR, with RFSIB playing a major role in the analysis.

When all the school setting variables entered a MR analysis to predict QSLR, five entered before the "R^2 change" dropped below two per cent. RFTCH, RFFRI, BUS, SIZE, and LOC entered (as indicated in Table 6) with a MR = .74 and $MR^2 = .55$. Again, interpersonal variables accounted for over half the variance in QSLR, with RFTCH playing a major role. It seemed that both home and school setting interpersonal variables had the most impact upon students' attitudes toward school. School structural variables played a minor role in students' QSLR.

In response to the research question, home and school setting interpersonal factors had equal roles in effecting students' QSLR. People in the life of students had more of an impact on their attitudes than structural factors.

TABLE 6

MULTIPLE STEPWISE REGRESSION
ANALYSIS TO PREDICT QSLR

By Home Setting Variables

Predictor	MR	MR^2	R^2 change	r
RFSIB	.57	.32	.32	.57
FAMSIZ	.71	.51	.19	.22
RFF	.73	.53	.02	-.07

By School Setting Variables

Predictor	MR	MR^2	R^2 change	r
RFTCH	.52	.27	.27	.52
RFFRI	.66	.44	.17	-.17
BUS	.69	.48	.04	.17
SIZE	.73	.53	.05	-.24
LOC	.74	.55	.02	-.29

n = 33

THE ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY

Janice A. Ahola

The General Research Design. An ethnographically oriented study typically encompasses a number of inter-related techniques. Each plays a fundamental and complementary role in the context of the complete research design. Generally, these techniques include the use of participant observation, informal interviewing, formal interviewing and the collection of personal documents.[20] In this study, the participant observation technique was employed as the major field method.

> By participant observation we mean that method in which the observer participates in the daily life of the people under study, either openly in the role of researcher or covertly in some disguised role, observing things that happen, listening to what is said, and questioning people, over some length of time.[21]

I decided that my role would be overt rather than disguised. My task was to blend in with the student setting as much as possible with the aim of seeing student life through the eyes of some of the older students. I thought that joining groups of students for the stated purpose of studying their activities would be acceptable to them, provided that I took extreme care to establish and maintain a relationship based on rapport and trust.

Although field notes from participant observation comprised the major portion of the data, I used several other related techniques to complement the observational data.[22] Throughout

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[20] An admixture of these techniques is used by many ethnographers.

[21] Becker, Howard S. and Geer, Blanche, "Participant Observation and Interviewing: A Comparison," in McCall, George J. and Simmons, J.L., (Eds.), Issues in Participant Observation. Homewood: Dorsey, 1960.

[22] There is considerable discussion in the methodological literature concerning the supplementary or complementary role of fieldwork techniques used in participant observation studies. Wolcott refers to his use of these techniques as "supplementary to journal entries . . .", while Zelditch maintains that field studies should employ three fundamental strategies, PO, informant interviewing and sampling. Zelditch, Morris, jr., "Some Methodological Problems of Field Studies," American Journal of Sociology, 67 (1962), 566-576.

the course of the fieldwork, I decided to conduct informal open-ended interviews with key subjects. While involved in casual conversations, I would attempt to introduce certain topics which were of particular interest to my research aims. In addition, a variety of school documents were collected throughout the course of the study. These included daily student and teacher bulletins, special bulletins, notices and duplicated posters which were prepared by students, student council minutes and agendas, occasional memos, student newspapers and newsletters, student schedules, and yearbooks which were written during the observation year and the preceding year. Toward the end of the observation period in each school, I carried out formal semi-structured interviews with certain students.

Methodological Guidelines and Their Application. Much has been written about the phases involved in research using participant observation. Generally, these phases include initial entry procedures (gaining entrée), data collection, data analysis and data reporting.[23]

The first phase, gaining entrée, begins with the selection of the site and then moves to gaining permission to carry out the research from persons and groups at different levels of the organization. Frequently, this involves different field strategies for different groups. During this phase, the researcher's main aim is to seek permission to observe within the setting. Once official permission is granted, the researcher proceeds to establish working ties with those subjects under direct observation.

Gaining entrée began with site selection. Certain ad hoc limitations were imposed from the onset because the project was sponsored by a single school board; they wanted study schools to be from their jurisdiction. In addition, the research problem called for the selection of one large high school and one small one. As both schools were to be observed from the same vantage

[23]McCall, George J. and Simmons, J.L., Op. Cit.

point, that is, through the eyes of a relatively small number of older high school students, and as the two schools would be described and compared, a conscious effort was made to select two schools which might in some ways be comparable.

"Biggerton", with a student population of just over 2000, seemed to be a good choice for the larger site. Not only was it the largest school in the board, but also it appeared to have few obvious atypical characteristics. That is, the language of instruction was English, the school had been administered by the same principal for several years, and the student population did not have a high percentage of different ethnic groups. Furthermore, Biggerton included students from grade 7 to grade 11 (the norm for Quebec secondary schools); it was not classified as an inner-city school, nor did it offer an alternative approach to education.

Once Biggerton was chosen, a small high school which could also be considered not "atypical" was sought. "Littleton", with a student population of 500, seemed a good choice. While Littleton served one community and Biggerton three, all could be described as middle-class suburbias. Most of the students lived within walking distance of their school. The schools were situated about five miles apart, and three major physical features - two four-lane thruways and one railroad line - sharply and completely separated the two schools, their students and the two communities.

Contacts were first established with school administrators; it was assumed that the hierarchical nature of the school system dictated this approach. My university advisor and I made initial contact with the research representatives of the school boards. They agreed with the design and choice of sites. The principals of the two schools were subsequently contacted and separate visits with each were arranged. The purpose and design of the study was explained to the principals. I gave each principal a four page description of the study. Within the statement, I identified

four points which seemed to me essential for the success of the venture:

1. The observer should be identified primarily with the students.
2. The observer should be able to move with the students and blend into their normal routine.
3. By the same token, the observer's presence should not upset the normal routines of the school.
4. The observer's role should be clearly understood to be that of a neutral observer; that is, the observer would not be concerned in any way either with passing judgement on the desirability of any practice or behavior in the school, or interfering with any practice or behavior.

Both principals agreed to the observational time period which would place me at Littleton for three-and-one-half months during the fall and early winter, and at Biggerton for a like period in the late winter and early spring. Both principals recommended that the cooperation of the teaching staff be sought by them, rather than by me. Staff cooperation was gained, and the principals agreed to my meeting with representatives of the student body, student council leaders.

During initial encounters with these students, I attempted to provide a simple, reasonable explanation of the study. I sought their approval, solicited their aid, and attempted to clarify my role.

During the first days in the field at each school, I concentrated on establishing a rapport with potential subjects. The principles for establishing relationships in the field have been suggested by Dean and others.[24] Trying to assume the role of an observer and a limited participant, I tagged along with students, going to classes, to lunch, to the locker, to the lounge, and so on.

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[24] Dean, John P., et. al., "Establishing Field Relations," in McCall, George J. and Simmons, J.L., Ibid.

The second phase, data collection, involved intense and regular participant observation periods within the school. While an ongoing effort was made to maintain good field relations with students and to establish new relations with others, the primary aim was to collect information.

Thus, once my initial anxieties about entry were overcome and once I felt relatively confident about the success of my developing relationships with some of the students, I spent most of my time and efforts on documenting as many facets of the subjects' lives as possible. As the study progressed, questions such as "Where to go next?" were determined to a great extent by the student's schedules, by student's suggestions, by invitation, by an ongoing analysis of my data, by time limitations and by my desire to witness as many aspects of student life as possible.

Over the course of the three-and-one-half month stay in each of the schools, I participated and observed in a wide variety of settings: in the corridors and at individual's lockers; in the girl's washroom; in the cafeteria line and at the lunch table; in the smoking area; in the student lounges; in the library; in assemblies in the gyms; at dances, sporting events and at committee meetings; before school, between classes and after school. I also observed about one-hundred instructional periods of forty-five minutes each. Class period observations tool place under a wide variety of circumstances: routine classes; in-class testing and formal examinations; classes under the direction of a substitute; one class under a student teacher; classes interrupted by fire drills, by picture taking sessions and by electrical failure; classes held in the library, out-of-doors, and in the cafeteria; classes which took place during special student-event days such as Halloween dress-up and nostalgia day dress-up.

My time was spent, for the most part, with a particular group

of students in each of the schools. They were older students who were involved in extracurricular activities and they were successful in academic work. I had not fully anticipated this "sample", for it stemmed from factors that emerged as the study developed. As I became a "quasi-member" of a specific set of student groups, this affiliation automatically cut me off from contact with other groups. Several alternatives were open to me: I could hop from group-to-group, and remain by-and-large a casual, intermittant observer in several groups; I could leave my present groups and begin to make contact with new ones; or, I could remain with my present groups and work toward a more in-depth understanding of school life from their perspective. I opted for the third alternative.

The range of settings and circumstances that I witnessed appeared so diverse that I think they may well be representative of the type of school life experienced by at least one portion of the students at the two schools.

Throughout the data collection phase, I wrote extensive descriptive notes and verbatim remarks; I also noted my own behavior, comments, thoughts, feelings and interpretations. The purpose of recording my own actions and reactions was to encourage me-as-researcher to articulate preconceptions which might have gone unnoticed. Anthropologists are paying closer attention to the field esperience as an integral dimension of the total research experience.[25] Also, this trend towards incorporating a more self-conscious perspective is evident in fieldwork involving formal organizations.[26]

For each day spent in the field, observations ranged from

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[25]For example, see Nash, Dennison and Wintrob, Ronald, "The Emergence of the Self-Consciousness in Ethnography," Current Anthropology, 13 (1972), 527-541.

[26]Scott, W. Richard, "Fieldwork in a Formal Organization: Some Dilemmas in the Role of Observer," Human Organization, 22 (1963), 162-168; and, Gussow, Zachary, "The Observer-Observed Relationship as Information About the Structure in Small Group Research," Psychiatry, 27 (1964), 230-247.

one to four hours, but usually averaged between two and three hours. An effort was made to observe at different times of the day as well as during an occasional evening during school activities. Observations took place four-out-of-five days a week. While notes were not usually taken during the observation periods, I would tape-record journal entries immediately upon leaving school. This was done during my drive back to the university. My recorded notes formed the basis for typed enties in my journal. Because the recorded notes often triggered other recollections, I found it necessary to do all my own typing. This "recording of journal entries" procedure usually required two to two-and-a-half times the actual time spent in observation.

The third phase of participant observation research, that of data analysis, was an ongoing phase starting right from the first observations. Analysis during current observations provided guidelines for future observational foci. Post observational analysis involved a refinement of the data. This refinement sought a general set of conceptualizations which would encompass the majority of the data. Following guidelines established by Becker and Geer, I speculated about possible issues and concepts which would help in understanding the school life of students, albeit a select group of students.[27] These tentative leads were carried back into the field and evidence such as volunteered remarks, answers to my specific questions, statements made within a group or alone with me, and student behaviors was collected and used to modify, verify or refute these leads. Over time, an understanding of student life emerged.

Post fieldwork analysis was used to further clarify my understanding of student life. This entailed the rereading of some 800 pages of single-spaced journal entries and sorting through school documents. The analysis continued for nearly a year after the fieldwork had been completed, a length of time not uncommon

[27]Mostly females in grade 11 who were academically oriented and socially active in the school.

for ethnographic investigations.

The Role of The Observer and The Issue of Validity.

Cnce I entered the field I became increasingly aware that my presence as an overt participant observer was having a dynamic impact on me as well as on my subjects. Therefore, I took special care to document any evidence which would provide a clearer understanding of the validity of my data. While my notes do provide evidence of the impact of my presence on students andstaff, they also give me reason to believe that my subjects presented me with a realistic picture of life in school (see Ahola and Lucas, 1977 for a detailed discussion of this point). For example, the following selected and edited field notes are revealing:

> (In the cafeteria during lunch) Joanne motioned for me to sit down next to her. The girls swapped pieces of their lunch ... They gave me a piece of mince tart. One said to me, "Oh, we do this every day ... tasting each other's things"... I offered to share my (school bought) hamburger, if anyone wanted to taste it ... We laughed...
>
> (I attended art class with Donna. I sat between her and Jack, a good friend of hers. At one point they spoke to me about the teacher, although I had not initiated the topic) They called him "wierd" (but I didn't know what they meant by that). Donna also remarked that she has never seen him paint anything, and how odd that was since he was an art teacher. She glanced over her shoulder and noticed that he was close to us, and rolled up her eyes (implying she didn't realize how close, and implying she hoped he hadn't overheard her comment)
>
> (I had arrived at school during the middle of the period and decided to go to the library in order to catch up on some field notes. As it turned out, this decision provided data on how a "real" student might be treated under similar circumstances) I walked into the library and headed to a booth. I had my back to the librarian who was near the front. She called to me, "What class are you from?" (I felt she was abrupt, almost rude.) I turned around and started walking towards her when I realized she was talking to me. (I didn't want to yell from where I was.) I said I wasn't from a class, and she simultaneously said something like "As soon as you turned around, I figured you weren't from a class".

Many such episodes made me think and feel like a student.

Conclusions from the Ethnographic Study. Data analysis led to the development of a number of topics that embraced the majority of the findings. These topics were:

1. Physical characteristics of Littleton and Biggerton.
2. Communication and administration of behavioral expectations.
3. Student life during the unstructured, informal portions of the school day.
4. Student life associated with the classroom.
5. The extracurricular side of student life.[28]

After studying the findings in this topical arrangement, a number of conclusions were developed; these conclusions were stated as hypotheses. In the following pages, the conclusions and hypotheses will be presented (in abbreviated form). They will be organized under four headings:

1. Evidence of a student culture.
2. The extracurricular dimension of student life.
3. Students as subjugated members of the school community.
4. Classroom Life.

First, evidence of a student culture is readily apparent in high schools. Differentiation among participants at the two schools was expressed through various ways. The physical structures segregated participants into administrators, teachers and students, each with a specific assigned space. The buildings also promoted group encounters among members of the same groups by providing each with multiple, specific settings. For example, students had locker space, lounge space, hall space, and so on.

Daily school life sustained this differentiation. With respect tc students, each school was organized to communicate

[28]See Ahola, Janice A., MA Thesis, Op. Cit. for a fuller development of the conclusions.

particular behavioral expectations. Social encounters were promoted by the assignment and distribution of lockers, the selection of rooms for academic subjects, and the use of a regular, stable daily timetable. Within these formal mechanisms, students developed specific forms of adaptation.

Collectively, these factors sustained a repetitive, universal, group experience for students at both schools. At the same time, these factors tended to divide students into younger and older groups. From these age groupings, smaller, separate, coexisting student friendship groups emerged.

H1: In small and large high schools, participants will be differentiated by role.

H2: In small and large high schools, the organization treats students as a collective to be divided by age groupings.

H3: In small and large high schools, students will form small friendship groups.

The overwhelming behavioral tendency exhibited by students in both schools, particularly during the informal, unstructured portions of the school day, was to openly and actively interact with friends. However, there were clearly distinguishable differences, by school, with respect to the kinds of social relationships which were established and maintained among older students. At Littleton, environmental factors including a school bell system, location of the toilets, lockers and classrooms for older students, and the shorter corridor system along with a relatively inflexible timetable promoted student groupings which were characterized by intense, frequent and intimate interaction among members, and, to some extent, by closedness with respect to non-members. At Biggerton, environmental factors such as the wider distribution of toilets, lockers and classrooms for older students, coupled with the lack of a bell system and the relatively wide range of course offerings, and the more extensive corridor system, promoted student groups

which tended to be restricted in the amount of time members could interact. Moreover, these factors encouraged a greater degree of independent movement by students, they tended to be away from intimate friends. Social needs seemed to be met by students through a broader array of secondary friendships.

There was a recognizable difference between being a grade eleven student at Littleton and Biggerton. Littleton's physical and organizational design combined to promote more frequent and intense student contact than did the arrangements at Biggerton. In addition, Littleton students seemed to directly and indirectly seek more visibility among their peers and juniors than did students at Biggerton. The efforts of Littleton students to seek visibility was particularly noticeable at lunchtime and during service club participation. At Biggerton, separate lunch periods for younger and older students, and larger numbers of students seemed to militate against visibility seeking activities. These observations led to the following hypotheses.

H4: Students in small and large high schools will have opportunities to seek and receive social interaction with specific peers.

H5: Students in the highest grade level in large high schools will have a more extensive network of social ties than will students in the highest grade level of small high schools.

H6: Students in the highest grade level in small high schools will have tighter friendship groups than will students in the highest grade level of large high schools.

H7: Students in the highest grade level in small high schools will play a more dominant role in the student social structure than will students in the highest grade level in large high schools.

Turning to the extra-curricular dimension of school life, I focused on student service clubs. During the year in the field, teachers and school boards were involved in a contract dispute and support for most extra-curricular activities was not provided by teachers; service clubs were the exception.

It was found that few students at Littleton or Biggerton were active in service clubs. However, the rate of participation at Littleton was nearly twice that of Biggerton. Of those active at both schools, grade eleven students outnumbered all of the other grade level students combined. Among grade eleven students, girls outnumbered boys. This was particularly pronounced at Littleton where grade eleven girls outnumbered grade eleven boys in every club, and where a much greater number of girls than boys held membership in more than one club. At Biggerton, while overall membership was dominated by girls in grade eleven, other factors tempered this dominance. For example, there were more non-grade eleven students active in service clubs at Biggerton (36%) than at Littleton (3%). Second, at Biggerton, grade eleven membership fluctuated by sex for specific clubs. Finally, a small but equal number of boys and girls were active in more than one club at Biggerton. These findings suggested the following hypotheses.

H8: The participation rate of students in service clubs will be greater in small high schools than in large high schools.

H9: In small and large high schools, students who participate in service clubs will come largely from the highest grade level.

H10: In small and large high schools, girls in the highest grade level will play a more dominant role in service clubs than will boys.

H11: Girls in the highest grade level in small high schools who are active in service clubs will have wider participation than will similar girls in large high schools.

Biggerton and Littleton had many similar service clubs and

Biggerton had three clubs not found at Littleton. Many of the Biggerton clubs had explicit membership requirements, club goals and member tasks, while Littleton clubs did not evidence such explicit procedures. However, for the two most visible and active clubs at both schools, the Yearbook and the Student Council, environmental factors may have promoted these divergent tendancies. The Littleton clubs had less adult guidance and no established meeting place, whereas the Biggerton clubs had more adult intervention and equipped work areas. These findings led to the following hypotheses.

H12: Small and Large high schools will develop and maintain similar service clubs.

H13: Large high schools will tend to have more regularized and explicit service club procedures than will small high schools.

The student governments at Littleton and Biggerton were similar in at least three ways. First, both groups consistently worked towards two major goals: fund raising and providing social events for students. Second, the vast majority of members of the two groups were above average achievers academically. Third, both groups acted as school representatives, particularly in student-sponsored events. Their commitment,however, may have been more closely associated with the power of the administration to terminate their projects, than with inherently shared goals and values. These findings led to three hypotheses.

H14: Student government groups in small and large high schools have similar formal goals; these goals are not concerned with academic issues.

H15: Students who participate in student government groups in small and large high schools will have above average academic marks.

H16: Student government groups in small and large high schools will remain sensitive to school behavioral expectations.

The Littleton Student Council operated under a monocratic, particularistic system which provided little opportunity to delegate authority, to establish clearly defined and regularized relations with peripheral organized groups, to maintain any level of personal accountability, to successfully execute more than one project at a time, and to stimulate opposition strength. It did promote consensus decision-making. Furthermore, it permitted non-members the opportunity to become involved, providing they were informally sponsored by the leader.

The Biggerton Student Union, in contrast, operated under a more impersonal, pluralistic system which provided more opportunity to delegate and seek authority, to maintain direct contact with other organized groups for the purpose of combining resources, to maintain some level of personal accountability, to successfully plan and execute several different projects concurrently, and to stimulate opposition views. One hypothesis was suggested herein

> H17: Members of student governments in small high schools will be more apt to promote a monocratic, particularistic style of operation within the group, while members of student governments in large high schools will be more apt to promote an impersonal, pluralistic style of operation within the group.

Let us now turn to the third major set of findings in the study, students as subjugated members of the school community. Several types of communication media were used in the two schools. However, the extent to which each medium contributed to the clarification of school expectations varied between the schools. At Littleton, less emphasis was placed on the use of once-a-year information sheets, while more emphasis was placed on the use of daily bulletins and assemblies. In contrast, Biggerton used yearly information sheets and relied less on daily bulletins or assemblies.

At Biggerton, the principal was seen by students as having

no role regarding the communication and administration of expectations for students. In contrast, Littleton's principal had a somewhat more visible role. His contact with students was confined to written notices, occasional announcements at assemblies, and occasional observations at student events.

The vice-principals at both schools were seen by students as lunchtime supervisors and as enforcers of the school's compulsory attendance regulations. It should be noted, however, that the Littleton vice-principal seemed more visible to students than any of the vice-principals at Biggerton.

Enforcing a policy of compulsory attendance was seen by students as the most clearly established and the most intricately executed administrative task at the two schools. Students responded, at the attitudinal and action levels, to this organizational expectation by becoming acutely aware of expectations and by developing means to treat the loopholes in the system. Some students managed to circumvent the policy and still escape school harrassment. The most common method used was to arrange an absence from one class with another teacher. This technique was particularly common among student leaders, and while used at both schools, seemed particularly in use at Littleton. Biggerton had a class designed by the student government to reduce student absences. Five hypotheses grew from these findings.

H18: Administrators in small high schools will communicate more frequently with students than will administrators in large high schools.

H19: In small and large high schools, communication between administrators and students will be one-way and impersonal.

H20: In small and large high schools, students will perceive the primary role of the vice-principal to be that of attendance disciplinarian and lunchroom supervisor.

H21: In small and large high schools, attendance inforcement will be one of the primary concerns of the organization.

H22: In small and large high schools, students will respond to compulsory attendance regulations in the same ways.

From the perspective of the student, members of the guidance departments of the two schools spent much of their time attempting to solve student course scheduling problems. Their secondary role was to communicate post-secondary school information on jobs and schooling. There was considerable evidence to indicate that Biggerton's department spent much effort on career information and summer job opportunities. In addition, at Biggerton the department offered three guidance courses within the school curriculum. Two hypotheses were suggested.

H23: In small and large schools, the primary role of the guidance department will be seen by students as assisting in course scheduling and as aiding in post-secondary placement.

H24: Guidance departments in large high schools will provide a wider range of services than guidance departments in small high schools.

Let us now turn to conclusions drawn from student perceptions of classroom life. For students, both schools had numerous classrooms that looked, more or less, alike; one could not easily tell school size by inspecting the physical aspects of classrooms. However, both schools had specialized classrooms designed to facilitate instruction in particular subject matter.

During the class periods at both schools, the two types of participants, the teachers and the students, consistently played their roles. Teachers tended to assume the role of active initiator, animator, and talker, while students most frequently assumed the role of passive listener and occasional responder.

Class periods at both schools followed the same basic activity pattern. Without fail, at the beginning of class teachers would express their personal expectations for student performance in class; this was a period of adjustment to the start of a lesson. The teacher would then select one or a few

activities through which he or she could communicate information. To someextent, the choice of activity seemed associated with the substance of the course. One hypothesis seemed evident.

H25: There will be no difference between classroom environments or activities between small high schools or large high schools.

In both schools, many of the classroom activities discouraged two-way communication between teacher and student. The activities which did encourage an exchange seemed to engage only a small number of the students in any one class.

In both schools, covert classroom behavior of students was visible during many of the different teaching activities. The type of activity seemed to influence the amount and type of covert activity.

Both inside and outside the classroom, student response to teaching activities rarely, if ever, included intellectual exploration of a subject. Typically, students seemed to define their goals and behaviors in terms of very specific, narrow perceptions of teacher expectations. Three hypotheses grew from these findings.

H26: Classroom life in small and large high schools will encourage few students to voluntarily and actively perform.

H27: In classrooms of small and large high schools, covert student behavior will be linked to the nature of the teaching activity being performed.

H28: Classroom life in small and large high schools will inhibit intellectual exploration.

Summary of Conclusions. Thus, from study of two high schools, one large and the other small, it seemed fair to conclude that some aspects of student life was similar while other aspects were different between the two settings.

At the possible expense of overshadowing the differences between student life in the settings, that is, the intense social

ties existing within groups of students in the small school, as opposed to the wider network of social ties of a less intense nature in the large school; the tendency for service clubs in the large school to have clearly defined and regulated goals and tasks, rather than the less regulated style found in the small school; the more pronounced grade eleven visibility found in the small school than the large one; the tendency of the Student Council in the small school to permit and promote a monocratic, particularistic operation style as opposed to the tendency for the Student Union in the large school to function on a more impersonal plane and have a pluralistic involvement of members; I will single out two major points of similarity between the schools.

First, a point which seems to have been glossed over in the literature, that is, regardless of school size, and constrained only to a limited extent by subject matter, classes in schools are remarkably alike. They are alike physically. Teachers are alike in their behavior. Students are alike in their behavior. Teachers tend to direct or orchestrate classes, while students act as passive learners.

Second, student participation in school activities, both in and out of class, is extremely limited. Few students in classes or in service clubs play active roles.

An Ethnographic Addendum. In order to shed light on a survey-defined concept like the QSL or QSLR, I will present a series of selected field notes spanning a few week period of time. The data will illustrate, in-depth, the student-teacher relationship at the behavioral level. The efficacy of a survey-defined measure will be questionned.

In February, Biggerton held its traditional Carnival Week. The week's activities culminated with a Carnival dance and the crowning of the Carnival Court. This year was special, students elected a King and Queen and Royal Parents from among the teachers.

The following field notes describe the crowning.

> Gordon, the emcee and Carnival Chairman, said to the crowd that was facing the stage, "And now, what most of you have been waiting for ... The Royal Parents ... Queen Mother and King Father." I sensed that people around me were quite excited and curious. One boy that I had seen in the lounge said to the fellow next to him, "It better be Mr. Carson and Mrs. Hines." I think he also said get ready to boo if they didn't get it.
>
> I was trying to get closer and closer to the front of the stage, trying to get a look at the winners. Everyone was at the front, it was mobbed. Everyone seemed thoroughly involved with the proceedings.
>
> The Queen Mother was Mrs. Carson and the Father Mr. Hines; loudest applause was for them, decidedly louder than for other court winners. I was surprised to see than Mrs. Carson was not one of the younger staff members. Mr. Hines was. During the crowning I saw Joanne and said something like how neat it was. She said "Yeah, isn't it!"
>
> Royal procession music was played and the group of winners walked up the aisle (it was impossible to see very much...) Yet, it seemed that the Royal Parents strongly detracted from the King and Queen; it seemed that they were the most important members of the group.

In the days that followed, Mrs. Carson's name would occasionally come up during informal conversations I had with some of the students. Their remarks seemed to confirm in many respects that students had a very positive attitude toward her. They respected her and liked her. During a conversation with Gordon and the girl beside him, which took place at a basketball game, the following notes were taken:

> Gordon talked about Mr. Hines and Mrs. Carson. He said he didn't really know Mrs. Carson (but) he said that she is really devoted. He guessed that she had the highest IQ of all the teachers at the school. Another girl added, "She knows the book backward and forward, and she's always correcting something in it." Gordon explained that he didn't have her for a course. One of the girls said that Mr. Dodge is good too, but that Mrs. Carson's whole life revolves around science. The girl didn't imply that something was eccentric or funny, rather that this was simply the way it was.

About a week after the Carnival dance, I observed one of Mrs. Carson's advanced chemistry classes. The observation came about naturally because many of my student friends took this course with her. I had observed the same class about a month earlier during their advanced chemistry exam and I recalled how anxious many of the students had appeared before the test. I had some preconceptions about what might occur. I knew she was well liked and respected; I knew that this class contained many students who were active in student activities including the Carnival Dance; and, I knew the course was the most difficult chemistry offering in the school and that students found it difficult. One, therefore, might have anticipated that students would be attentive, polite, anxious to clarify any misunderstandings, prone to be active, and involved in in-depth participation. What occured was quite different. Mrs. Carson agreed to let me observe, noting she didn't think the conditions were ideal, "I'm tired, they're tired, It's the last period!"

> Anne came in and sat next to Steven (her boyfriend) ... Richard (Student Council President) came in later, too, and moved to the back. He spent the period sitting on a desktop, facing the teacher.
>
> (Anne had mentioned to me earlier that Mrs. Carson was getting old, that she was losing her hearing and her eyesight.
>
> Although the people on my side of the room were not talking to any great extent, several people to my left, mainly boys, perhaps six in all, talked continuously throughout the period. Richard carried on a few conversations each lasting a couple of minutes. (I think they had to do with skiing, they certainly had nothing to do with s orbitals and p orbitals, the lesson of the period.)
>
> Frequently, I couldn't hear the lecture because the people who were talking to my left were so loud it gave the whole room a noisy sound. Although it was difficult to make out any of the conversations, it appeared to be small talk with no particular purpose, except perhaps to kid each other.
>
> They clowned around and teased each other. Mrs. Carson showed no signs of irritation. It seemed she did not hear

> what was going on, for she continued her lesson ... She went through some problems. She would call on people by their first names and ask the number of s orbitals or p orbitals, but the person who was called on was not necessarily the one who would answer. She called on Joanne and she didn't answer. I also noticed that she would pause, on occasion, to wait for an answer from the entire group. Several would respond in unison. Yet, the answer was very obvious. For example, when she would pause to hear the number of s orbitals, she would already have written the answer on the board. At other times, she would write out the number, and I would hear a number of students say, when asked for the number of orbitals, T-H-R-E-E or F-I-V-E. They would give the answer letter-by-letter and be regulated by the speed of Mrs. Carson's chalk.
>
> At one point a boy to my left stood up (I think someone had taken his book and he was trying to recover it). The teacher saw this and asked, "... You have to leave?" ... "No, Miss" ... and he sat back down. A boy nearby said he dropped his pencil (implying he was trying to pick it up) but I saw a book get passed back to the first boy; several people in the area laughed.
>
> It was getting near the bell, and the class was getting noisier and noisier.
>
> As we left the class, Joanne and I talked. She said Mrs. Carson is really sweet. She told me how, "She even calls you up sometimes ..." and went on to explain that when she came back from Florida, and had missed some school, Mrs. Carson had called asking if she was having trouble with her work. She offered to have Joanne come over to her house to be helped. Joanne told her she was busy, but would see her after school.

The actions which took place in the class left me puzzled. On the one hand, I saw evidence of respect and politeness, while on the other hand, many students seemed to "take advantage" of the situation. There was little evidence of active, in-depth participation in classwork. It raised a question, for me, about student attitudes towards teachers and student behavior in class. They may not be consistent, at least for many of the students.

Of course, this class period might have been unique. I wondered if what happened might have been attributed to the

"last class of the day" phenomenon. About a week later, I had occasion to visit Mrs. Carson's class again, but during the second period in the morning.

I asked the boy next to me what she was passing back, "A test?" "Oh no, that's just homework ... and, if you pass it in on Monday, you get it back the next day ... and she probably stays up all night correcting it."

The noise level in the room was high and continuous. However, I couldn't catch the conversations; most came from the other side of the room.

The rows were so tight it was hard to walk around. The room set-up was irregular. Seats were attached to desks and students moved them around. Nearest to the door was Richard; today, he wasn't sitting on the desktop. Next to him were Steve, Anne (Steve's girlfriend), Jill and Andrea.

When the boys to my right talked, they seemed to talk more loudly than students in other classes I had observed. I wondered how students could follow what the teacher was saying and doing at the blackboard.

I saw Ken crumple a paper and toss it onto Mike's desk. Mike turned to Ken and smiled ...

Mrs. Carson's presentation was like the other one. She would write on the board and explain what she was writing. Then she would say, "The number of ... eee ... " and some students would respond "electrons". Also, on the board was written "in the same group". She would lead the statement ending with, "in the same ..." and a few voices would say, "group".

A good portion of the participation required by Mrs. Carson was cued ... students would just have to listen to her and respond without having to understand. Once she called on Mary to answer; I sensed she didn't know the answer. A few people on my left said "increase ... increase". Brian said to Mary, "increase, just say increase". Mary said "increase". Mrs. Carson said, "Yes, increase".

What struck me, too, was that students didn't have the opportunity to ask questions.

It became apparent to me that the conduct of lessons, be they at the end of the day or in the morning, for Mrs. Carson and her students, was remarkably similar. Clearly, students inside and outside of class spoke with respect and liking about Mrs. Carson. The way students behaved in class seemed a product of a number of factors including the spatial arrangements, the way the teacher lectured and used the blackboard, the way the teacher asked questions and limited discussion, the fact that she might have been a little deaf and may have lost some of her eyesight, the way the students could sit where they chose and were free to move around, and the lack of threat the students felt from the teacher.

It was clear that a survey defined measure like the QSL or QSLR would not necessarily lead one to predict student behavior in school.

DISCUSSION

Epstein and McPartland have noted that the "... QSL is a short, direct, reliable measure useful across grade and educational levels for research and evaluation. For some purposes, the total 27-item scale may be appropriate for use as a global measure. But it should be clear that there are several dimensions to the concept of quality of school life."[29] They went on to indicate three independent dimensions of the QSL concept drawn from their factor analysis of survey data:

1. Satisfaction with school in general
2. Commitment to school work (in class)
3. Attitude toward teachers

Then they proceeded to test the validity of the measure. They reported on the concurrent validity of the QSL (total score?) by correlating it with measures of school performance and activities, school evaluations, family experiences, personality measures and aspirations. Twenty-four such correlations were reported ranging from a high of .58 (School evaluations-Liking school) to a low of .14 (School Performance And Activities - Standardized Achievement), with a median correlation of .27 The median correlation had an r^2 of .07; the common variance between QSL and the median indicator of concurrent validity was seven per cent. The best correlation was between QSL and "Liking School".[30]

To test the QSL for discriminant validity, Epstein and McPartland had teachers nominate students who had a "positive" or "negative" interest in class, and had students nominate peers for more or less "positive social and behavioral attributes - friendship, popularity, independence and realistic behavior."[31]

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[29] Epstein and McPartland. Op. Cit., 26.

[30] Ibid., 21.

[31] Ibid., 22-23.

Students who were nominated by teachers as "positive" in class had higher QSL scores than students who were considered "negative". Students who were nominated by peers on the above list of attributes also had higher QSL scores than students not so nominated. Between and within sums of squares were not reported, so the magnitude of the significant relationships among QSL and nominations could not be determined.

In sum, there seemed to be weak concurrent validity for the QSL measure, and a significant, but undeterminable, level of discriminant validity.

At this point, two aspects of the Epstein and McPartland work need to be carefully considered. First, when it had been demonstrated that a three-factor orthogonal solution existed for the factor analysis, and that the three factors subsumed twenty-seven items, why were the three factors added together to create the QSL measure? More importantly, was "meaning" added to the conceptualization by combining three independent measures? Clearly, QSL does not mean either satisfation with school, attitude to teachers or commitment to classwork, but some linear mathematical combination of those scores (concepts). In our view, given the three factor solution, studies that use the Epstein and McPartland measure should use the three QSL factors separately. Or, further effort is needed to define just what the QSL, as a total of twenty-seven items, is measuring. An analogy is in order. If we have X apples, Y bananas, and Z pears, and we combine them through addition we then have $X + Y + Z = F$ fruit. But, while apples are fruit, not all fruit are apples. In the Epstein and McPartland work, how is the QSL defined conceptually, or what is it's meaning?

Second, the three QSL subconcepts seem to have a unique perspective about school. They focus on, from our view, an "adult", "educator", "academic" orientation toward school life. The QSL dimensions seem to convey a very narrow view of what schooling is all about. For example, where are the concepts

of "peer relations", "extracurricular activities", or "informal activities" at school? Don't these notions have a place alongside commitment to school work and so forth? In fact, where such items included in the original battery given to students by Epstein and McPartland? If they were, and they were washed out in the factor analysis, this is important to know. Or, were they excluded from the original battery? In any case, we think the present conception of a "school life" measure is very narrow.

In spite of these criticisms, Epstein and McPartland had moved us towards a conceptualization of the quality of school life. We began our work by testing the factor structure of the QSL. After administering the QSL to just over 2000 students in 33 Quebec high schools, we factor analysed the responses. We uncovered a single factor which contained 18 of the 27 original items. We labelled it the QSLR (R for revised). We found it difficult to account for the marked difference in factor structure between the two settings (Maryland and Quebec) other than to suggest (1) the samples were different, (2) the school curricular and extra curricular activities were different, (3) the home settings, which can influence a student's attitude to school, were different, or (4) some combination of the above. Casual knowledge of the school curriculums within Maryland and Quebec, however, would indicate more similarities than differences.

Therefore, our measure of students' attitudes to school became the QSLR, a unidimensional construct that included a students satisfaction with school, commitment to classwork, and attitude toward teachers. We were spared the question of whether to add subfactors to get a global concept of QSL that confronted Epstein and McPartland.

We then ran correlations between three variants of alienation from school (normlessness, powerlessness and meaninglessness) and QSLR. Our purpose was to further test the validity of the QSLR against a fairly well established attitudinal measure.

The QSLR was inversely and significantly related to normlessness and powerlessness, as predicted, but not related to meaninglessness. When students were committed to their class work, to their teachers, and when they expressed satisfaction with school, they experienced a sense of power or control over their environment and they used socially approved means to achieve their goals. The validity of the QSLR seemed reinforced from these findings.

As an aside, while Epstein and McPartland found no relationship between the QSL and the sex of students, we found a highly significant relationship between the QSLR and student's sex. Girls held higher QSLR scores than boys. We also found a nearly significant relationship between student grade and QSLR. Eighth graders scored higher than tenth graders ($p = .07$).

Having tested the QSL for factor structure and uncovering the QSLR, we moved on to explore correlates of students' attitudes to school. We then investigated the relationship between selected home setting and selected school setting factors that, from the literature, might account for a student's perception of the quality of school life. The analysis was run at the student level and at the school level.

At the student level, only two variables were related to QSLR: (1) the student use of mother and (2) the student use of siblings as "significant others" (people one would refer to for advice). Other factors were not related to a student's attitude toward school at this level of analysis. When a student looked to his or her mother and/or siblings for advice on a wide range of topics, then the student seemed to have a more positive attitude toward school than when he or she did not seek such advice. However, while significant, this was a weak relationship having a multiple squared correlation of .08; only eight per cent of a student's QSLR score could be accounted for by these two variables.

When we moved from the student level of analysis to the school level, a more significant pattern of relationships stood out, implying (1) that the school life of students could best be understood as a group phenomenon (à la Durkheim and suicide), or (2) that the process of aggregating data from an n = 2116 to an n = 33, by school, produced an artificial view of the school. We do not reject the latter possibility, but we leave it to others to debate. If the former possibility is the case, then we must proceed with the analysis.

In the home setting, three variables, having siblings as referents, the size of the family, and not refering to father accounted for fifty-three per cent of the variance in QSLR. At the same time, in the school setting, two variables, having the teacher as a referent and not refering to friends in one's classes, accounted for forty-four per cent of the variance in QSLR. Also, if three school setting structural factors, time of travel to school, size of school, and location of school were added to the prediction equation, then school factors would account for fifty-five per cent of the variance in QSLR. Given aggregate data, people in the home setting (siblings and fathers) and people in the school setting (teachers and friends in one's classes) had a salient effect upon students' attitudes to school.

Now, these findings emerged from a multivariate analysis of data at an aggregate level (school level). Of some interest was the significant inverse relationship between QSLR and SES ($r = -.38$). Students in communities where parents had higher occupational levels tended to have lower QSLR scores than did students in communities where parents had lower occupational levels. This finding seemed to run counter to many other studies. In Quebec, lower status communities (based on parental occupation) seemed to have school students who were more committed to their teachers, who were more diligent in doing classwork and who tended to like school better than did students in higher status communities.

In sum, with regard to the survey study, the QSLR seemed a valuable research tool when used at the aggregate or school level of analysis.

At this point, let us consider the findings from the ethnographic analysis. A series of hypotheses were proposed based upon the analysis of seven months of field data. The hypotheses are tentative, yet need exploration. First, a number of similarities were found between the large and the small secondary school. There seemed to be clear role differentiation between teachers, students, administrators and counsellors. Each role had a set of attached expectations that guided daily life for role incumbents. Students were typically treated by others as a "collective" group, with class and age groupings. Students formed friendship groups of their own within the school setting. For many students, school was the only place they could meet their friends. Schools supported service clubs as "extra-curricular" activities where students could meet, but few participated and those that did tended to come from the upper grade level. Girls tended to participate more in service clubs than did boys. Student friendship groups, while supported to a limited degree by service clubs, were maintained in most school settings. Also, student governments were controlled by upper class students, had similar goals, and were sensitive to school expectations. In general, students saw principals as having little to do with their school life. Finally, classes tended to be more alike than different. Teachers used similar methodologies, did not encourage intellectural exploration of a subject, and limited student participation.

Some differences were found between the two schools. In the smaller school, student social ties were less extensive yet of a more intimate nature than in the larger school. Similarly, the student government in the smaller school tended to be more monocratic and personal, while in the larger school it was more pluralistic and impersonal. Also, in the smaller school, students

from the senior class tended to dominate the service clubs more than in the larger school. In summary, the two schools seemed alike in most ways, with some differences in the student social life that may be attributable to the size factor.

Now, let us consider the meaning of a student's attitude toward school from an ethnographic perspective. A point raised by Blumer is in order:

> ... the underlying scheme of the empirical world used in the act of scientific investigation needs to be critically examined to see whether it is true; the problems set for study need to be critically studied to see whether they are genuine problems in the empirical world; the data chosen need to be inspected to see if in fact they have in the empirical world the character given to them in the study. ... yet it is evident that such scrutiny and assessment of scientific inquiry are rare in what is advanced today as methodology in the social and psychological sciences. Premises, problems, data, relations, interpretations and concepts are ... accepted as given and so spared direct examination in terms of the empirical world.[32]

One major problem in the social sciences, for Blumer, is reification. That is, to regard a mental abstraction as a thing, a part of the real world. The major purpose of this monograph was to uncover the meaning of "the quality of school life" for students. To do this, one needs to inspect "school life" for students and then to look at this life in terms of "quality".

For students, first and foremost, school was a place to meet friends. The school provided the basic means by which students could create and maintain their social encounters. Student course schedules were often changed to to enable friends to be together. Students secured lockers near their friends. Students passed through the halls with friends. Students met at lunch and in the lounge with friends. Students met friends in the library. Students sat in buses travelling to and from school and to and from school activities with friends. The major goal of service clubs and student governments was to provide social activities for students.

Even in the classroom, students sought each other. They

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[32]Blumer, Herbert. Symbolic Interaction: Perspective ann Method. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1969, 28.

sat with friends. They talked to each other. They wrote notes to each other. Classroom lessons typically deemphasized independent academic thought. Teacher-student exchanges were most often based on the recall of fact or the response to teacher cues. The classroom setting continually emphasized teacher-student separation and student-student integration by the allocation of space, the amount and direction of communication and the formal control of tasks. At the overt level, students could participate in class without significantly modifying the elements of their life, namely, the friendships with other students. At the covert level, school as a "social" experience could thrive in class.

There is a very real question about whether the QSL or QSLR tapped "the quality of school life" for students. It may be that students, as part of their social existence in school, seek:

1. A sense of freedom at school
2. The opportunity to meet friends
3. Non-threatening academic encounters (classes, exams, teacher questionning)
4. Non-threatening teachers.

These, and other, aspects of school life might constitute a "Quality of School Life - Student" (QSLS) notion, when viewed from an ethnographic, behaviorally based, perspective. When an adult lives with students in school for an extended period, one begins to see how thin the "academic" portion of school is for secondary students, and how important the interpersonal relationships become. For a student, the QSL or QSLR may represent reification of an "adult", "educator" and "academic" view of school.

At this point we would like to propose a model of school life that encompasses the major findings of the survey study and the ethnographic study. We think the model would be useful for further study of the "quality of school life".

School Life: A Model. The school is one of the major agencies in a community that brings about the socialization of youth into the world of adults. This socialization takes place at two levels, one instrumental and one expressive.[33] The instrumental level can be further divided into aspects termed "official" and "hidden".[34] The official instrumental activities of a school are academic. They include lessons and classes within courses of study and curriculum. There is concern for learning specific subject matter, and for the mastery of knowledge. In addition, the hidden instrumental activities are concerned with the establishment and maintenance of student conformity to school behavioral expectations. Here, teachers praise or reward appropriate student behavior regardless of whether it is linked to academic achievement. Jackson has pointed out that elementary students can get promoted for "trying in class", even if they do not achieve academically.[35]

Teachers play a dominant role within the instrumental level of student socialization. They formally and informally examine students on their "academic" and "behavioral" progress. In this process, teachers tend to relate to students in a universalistic and impersonal way.

The expressive activities of the school revolve around friendship groups for secondary school students. Students chose who will be their friends and who will not, which activities they will join or not, with whom they will eat, and so on. Some student-student relationships can be termed primary in that they are characterized by intimate, particularistic and qualitative concerns. A goal for students in school is to develop as social beings. While school organized extra-curricular activities are designed to promote the expressive socialization of students,

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[33]See, in particular, Etzioni, Amitai. Complex Organizations. New York: Free Press, 1961, 91 ff.

[34]Jackson, Philip W. Life in Classrooms. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968, 33-34.

[35]Ibid., 33.

only a small number of students seek this type of involvement; most students prefer to chose their own settings for expressive socialization.

Both instrumental and expressive socialization takes place within classes. A class often has two sets of activities going on at the same time, one directed to the students' cognitive growth and behavioral conformity, and one directed to the students' social growth. It seems that most other school settings are primarily concerned with expressive socialization.

While teachers are the "leaders" in the instrumental socialization of students, students seem to be the "leaders" in their expressive socialization.

The instrumental and expressive activities interact with one another; they could hardly escape from each other's grasp. As they interact, they may be complementary or competitive. When complementary, both instrumental and expressive goals may be met. When competitive, neither instrumental nor expressive goals are likely to be fulfilled. In many instances, there may be strain between the instrumental leaders, the teachers, and the expressive leaders, certain students, because their goals are different. Therefore, optimal rather than perfect goal attainment is to be expected. In fact, the "effective classroom" may be one where instrumental and expressive goals are optimized, and the effective teacher may be one who understands both levels of socialization and attempts to optimize both types of goals.

This model of school life is similar to one recently proposed by Bloom.[36] He noted:

> ... the student is being taught at least two courses of study or curricula. One is the manifest curriculum of the school; the other or latent curriculum is based on the interactions of persons within the school.[37]

Bloom's manifest curriculum is similar to our "official instrumental" notion, while his latent curriculum seems consistent

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[36]Bloom, Benjamin S., "Affective Outcomes of School Learning," Phi Delta Kappan, 59 (Nov., 1977), 193-198.

[37]Ibid., 193.

with our expressive level of socialization. He further states that the manifest curriculum is most "visible", while the latent curriculum has limited visibility.

We would take issue with two of Bloom's points. Implicit in his view is that students are being taught two curricula. We think that secondary students are being taught one curriculum, the instrumental, and that they are teaching each other the expressive curriculum. Data from the ethnographic study points to a clear demarcation between the social world of teachers and students in secondary schools, both in and out of class. Second, we do not think the expressive activities should be termed latent. The "latent" notion seems more a product of an adult researcher's view of school than of a student's view of school. For students, expressive activities are highly visible, even if some of them receive negative sanctions.

We think this model is useful, for it permits us to understand some perplexing findings. For example, the model seems to explain how students can say that Mrs. Carson is respected and liked on the one hand, and account for their deviant behavior in class on the other hand. Her lessons must not meet student expressive needs, she does not involve them with each other during the class in a meaningful way. They turn to "playing" and "social discussions" to meet expressive needs. Mrs. Carson does not chastise them; she does not invoke the teacher's hidden agenda. Her primary concern is their "academic" welfare. It could be said that she permits student expressive socialization to flourish. We do not imply that this is intentional on her part, but it might be.

A second example of the utility of the model comes from the survey study. Using the school as the unit of analysis, we found a positive relationship between QSLR and seeking advice from teachers ($r = .52$), while a negative relationship existed between the QSLR and seeking advice from friends in one's classes ($r = -.17$). These relationships may reflect a "tug-of-war" between achieving

instrumental and expressive goals. To refer to fellow students may indicate a weaker student concern for commitment to school in general, for a commitment to class work, and for a commitment to teachers (the aspects of the QSLR), while to refer to teachers may indicate a greater commitment to the instrumental official school curriculum.

It should be noted that the model of school life is a product of two methodological approaches to the same basic research question: What is the meaning of "The Quality of School Life" for students? To have used only a survey approach would have limited our view of school life. It seems that both survey and ethnographic methodologies can be fruitfully used together to gain insight into complex social phenomena.

In conclusion, the QSL and QSLR seem to be valid and reliable measures of a student's perception of the instrumental "official" curriculum of the school. Further research is needed to develop measures of the instrumental "hidden" curriculum of the school, and the expressive level of school socialization. Our commentary on the QSLS has, hopefully, provided a start on a measure of the latter concept. With such measures available, a number of hypotheses could be generated from the model of school life and then be tested.

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APPENDIX

QSL AND QSLR ITEMS

The twenty-seven items developed by Epstein and McPartland are listed, and the "@" indicates the item was assigned to the QSLR.

Satisfaction With School

1.@ I enjoy the work I do in class (Always, Often is 1, Sometimes, Seldom, Never is 0)
2.@ The school and I are like (Good friends, Friends is 1, Distant relatives, Strangers, Enemies is 0)
3.@ I am happy when I am in school (True is 1, False is 0)
4.@ I am very happy when I am in school (True is 1, False is 0)
5.@ Most of the time I do not want to go to school. (True is 0, False is 1)

Commitment to School

6.@ Work in class is just busy work and a waste of time. (Always, Often, Sometimes is 0, Seldom, Never is 1)
7.@ School work is dull and boring to me. (Always, Often, Sometimes is 0, Seldom, Never is 1)
8.@ In class, I often count the minutes till it ends. (True is 0, False is 1)
9.@ We hardly ever do anything exciting in class. (True is 0, False is 1)
10.@ I daydream a lot in class. (True is 0, False is 1)
11. In my classes I get so interested in an assignment or project that I don't want to stop work. (Quite often, Every day is 1, Hardly ever, Never is 0)
12. The work I do in most classes is: (Very important is 1, Pretty important, Not too, Not at all important to me is 0)
13.@ Most of the topics we study in class can't end soon enough for me. (True is 0, False is 1)
14.@ The things I get to work on in most of my classes are: (Great stuff, Good stuff is 1, OK, Dull, Trash is 0)
15.@ If you could chose to take any course at all, how many of your present courses would you take? (All, More than half is 1, Half, One or two, None is 0)
16.@ This term I am eager to get to: (All of my classes, most is 1, Half, One or two, None is 0)

Reaction's To Teachers' Authority

17.@ I wish I could have the same teachers next year. (True is 1, False is 0)

18.@ How would you rate the ability of most of your teachers compared to teachers in other schools at your grade level? (Far above average, Above is 1, Average, Below, Far below average is 0)

19.@ Thinking of my teachers this year I really like:(All of them, Most is 1, Half, One or two, None is 0)

20. This term my teachers and I are: (On the same wavelength, On the same planet is 1, Somewhere in the same solar system, In two different worlds is 0)

21. Most of my teachers really listen to what students say. (True is 1, False is 0)

22.@ Teachers here have a way with students that makes us like them. (True is 1, False is 0)

23. I feel I can go to my teachers with the things that are on my mind. (True is 1, False is 0)

24. Most of my teachers want me to do things their way and not my own way. (True is 0, False is 1)

26. Certain students in my class are favored by the teacher. (True is 0, False is 1)

27. The teachers in this school often act as though they are always right and you are wrong. (True is 0, False is 1)